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ABSTRACT

A study investigated errors in the writing of black students to determine how those errors were influenced by black oral English. Writing samples were gathered from 99 third grade and 68 sixth grade students in a school in an inner city, low income neighborhood. All errors in the samples were listed and analyzed. In the samples produced by the third grade students, 550 errors were identified; of these, 39% were considered to have possible influences from black English. In the samples produced by the sixth grade students, 437 errors were identified; of these, 33% were considered to have possible influences from black English. (Copies of the stimulus for the writing samples and lists of errors are appended.) (FL)

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BLACK-ENGLISH INFLUENCES IN THE WRITING OF THIRD- AND SIXTH-GRADE BLACK STUDENTS

Bruce Cronnell

ABSTRACT

This paper presents an analysis of the errors found in a set of writing samples produced by third- and sixth-grade Black children attending an innercity school in a low-income neighborhood. The analysis focuses on those errors that may be influenced by Black English oral usage. Hypercorrections are also noted. A few error types (primarily morphological) seem to be most influenced by Black English speech patterns.

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BLACK-ENGLISH INFLUENCES IN THE WRITING OF THIRD- AND SIXTH-GRADE BLACK STUDENTS

Bruce Cronnell

Research (reviewed in Cronnell, 1981) indicates that oral language forms may have some influence on the written products of students who do not speak standard English. The influences seem most strong--or at least most obvious--at the level of surface features of written text. Non-standard pronunciation may affect spelling. Non-standard grammatical features may also show up in writing. Higher-level features of oral language (e.g., discourse form) may also affect writing, but such effects are harder to identify and are less well documented.

Speakers of non-standard English come from a variety of backgrounds, primarily low-income backgrounds and frequently from non-Anglo cultures. Of particular interest within SWRL's region are two groups of students who often perform poorly in school: low-income Blacks and Chicanos. This paper is concerned with the writing of Black children; see Cronnell (1982) for a similar analysis of the writing of Chicano children. Most low-income Blacks speak a variety of Black English (cf., Berdan, 1981), and Black English (BE) is the non-standard dialect most studied in relation to writing (cf., Cronnell, 1981). However, this paper does not claim that the writing problems of BE speakers are due only--or even primarily--to language differences. Instead, the paper looks at how such differences might affect students' writing.

This paper presents the results of an analysis of a limited sample of writings by third- and sixth-grade Black students. Such an analysis may lead to some pedagogical solutions to the writing needs of such linguistically different students.

PROCEDURES

For this study, an extant set of writing samples was used (a subset of those used in Cronnell, 1980). These writing samples were produced by third- and sixth-grade students as part of an end-of-year assessment in a large school district in the metropolitan Los Angeles area. (See Cronnell, Lawlor, Gentry, Humes, & Maltbie, 1980, for assessment specifications; see Lawlor, Cronnell, Gentry, & Humes, 1981, for analysis of the district results of this assessment.) The prompts for these writing samples are found in Appendix A.

The writing samples analyzed were from one school, in a low-income, predominantly Black, innercity area. Only students who were identified by teachers as Black or who did not have Hispanic surnames were included for analysis. The students were in five third-grade classes (n = 99) and in three sixth-grade classes (n = 68). No data were obtained on students' actual speech. However, the school is in an area where many BE speakers live; moreover, previous studies at the school (e.g., Kligman & Cronnell, 1974) found that most students at the school spoke Black English. Thus, when Black English features are found in the writing of these students, it is extremely likely that these same features are found in their speech.

All errors* found in the writing samples were compiled and listed along with the correct forms--with the following exceptions:

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*Errors are defined as deviations from standard edited English; the term is not meant to be pejorative. Although the term "miscue" might be appropriately used (and has less of a pejorative sense than "error"), it is not yet a common term in studies of writing (and does not reflect common views of such written deviations).

1. Capitalization and punctuation errors were not included because there is no reason to believe that such errors are influenced by dialect differences. (Moreover, such errors were very common, so their inclusion would have made the analysis unmanageable.)
2. For the sixth-grade samples, errors in letter format were not analyzed because (1) they would be messy to compile and (2) there is no reason to believe that such errors are influenced by dialect differences.
3. For the sixth-grade samples, errors in the spelling of proper names from television programs were generally not analyzed because the spelling of proper names is subject to considerable idiosyncratic variation. (However, such spelling errors are listed at the end of Appendix C.)

The errors were classified in three ways:

1. possible Black English influence (e.g., "lef" for "left");
2. possible hypercorrection from Black English (e.g., "lefted" for "left");
3. no obvious Black English influence or hypercorrection (e.g., "loft" for "left").

The classification of errors was generally conservative; that is, errors were classified as BE influenced or as hypercorrections only when strong evidence suggested the possibility. However, many of the errors so classified may not actually be the result of dialect influence or hypercorrection: All writers tend to make some errors ("slips of the pen"), no matter what their dialect, especially under testing conditions. (See, for example, the analysis by Wing & Baddeley, 1980, of spelling errors produced by students applying for entrance to Cambridge University.)

Moreover, BE-related errors are not necessarily unique to speakers of Black English since BE shares some features with other dialects of English. In addition, research (see Cronnell, 1981, for citations) has consistently shown that many dialect-related errors also appear (although less frequently) in the texts of writers who do not speak the dialect. (For example, writers who always use third person singular -s in their speech may sometimes omit it in writing.) Thus, all results reported here must be viewed cautiously.

Errors, correct forms and possible error sources are listed in Appendices B and C for grades 3 and 6, respectively.*

RESULTS

In the writing samples from 99 third-grade students, 550 errors were identified (an average of 5.6 per student); of these, 39% were considered to have possible influences from Black English (212) an average of 2.1 per student). In the writing samples from 68 sixth-grade students, 437 errors were identified (an average of 6.4 per student); of these, 33% were considered to have possible influences from Black English (144, an average of 2.1 per student).**

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*Benji Wald provided assistance in the classification of error sources.

**It should be noted that the (relative) presence or absence of errors is not necessarily related to the overall quality of the writing samples. Some samples with few or no errors were short, simple, and dull. Some samples with many errors were lengthy, complex, and interesting. In the former cases, the students apparently played safe and ventured little. In the latter cases, the students--in their attempts at more complex writing--took risks and sometimes had problems. However, these risk-takers probably have more potential as writers (even though they may make more errors as they push their writing skills to the limits).

Those errors that were possibly influenced by Black English oral patterns were sorted into five categories: Verbs, Nouns, Syntax (excluding verb and noun use), Consonants, Vowels. In general, the relative frequency of specific error types was similar across both grade levels (see Table 1). However, sixth graders tended to have more variety in their errors (as evidenced by the "other" categories), probably because the writing-sample prompt allowed more options for variations in responses.

Verbs

The largest category of errors was related to verb formation and use. A major problem was the lack of third person singular -s (or -es) in the present tense; e.g., the elephant look rather than the elephant looks. (Only a few corresponding hypercorrections were found--that is, an -s form where only the simple verb was needed.)

Another major problem was the lack of -ed on past tense verbs and on past participles. Third graders had particular difficulties with named, as in the monkey is name Bounce. (Third graders frequently had trouble with tense in general, often shifting between present and past; consequently, sometimes the missing verb suffix could be interpreted as either -s or -ed. Sixth graders were more consistent in their use of tense.)

Use of the verb be also created some problems, particularly for third graders, who frequently used was for were (and occasionally vice versa) and is for are. (Such errors were less common for sixth graders.) A few students at both grade levels also omitted be in some

Table 1

Frequency of Error Types Possibly Influenced by Black English

Error Type	Grade 3		Grade 6	
Verbs	No.	%	No.	%
third person singular -s	31	15%	15	10%
-ed	28	13	17	12
be	38	18	13	9
other	8	4	14	10
	105	50%	59	41%
Nouns				
plural -s	16	8%	10	7%
possessive 's	7	3	2	1
	23	11%	12	8%
Syntax				
a for an	13	6%	6	4%
other	2	1	18	12
	15	7%	24	17%
Consonants				
final clusters	20	9%	19	13%
other	37	17	23	16
	57	27%	42	29%
Vowels	12	6%	7	5%
TOTAL	212		144	
Possible Hypercorrections	52		31	

sentences (where is or was was needed). Only one case of invariant be was found (suggesting perhaps that students are aware of highly stigmatized forms and avoid them in writing).

Other verb errors can generally be placed in four minor categories: (1) misuse of perfect tenses (either past instead of participle form, e.g., had came; or use of past perfect--often with past instead of participle form--when only the simple past was needed, e.g., had landed instead of landed); (2) inappropriate tense in modals (e.g., can for could, and vice versa); (3) got for has or has got.

Nouns

Problems with nouns involved the use of suffixes (as did many problems with verbs): lack of the plural -s and lack of the possessive -'s. Moreover, the addition of an unnecessary -s or -'s (especially among third graders) was a common hypercorrection.

Syntax

The major syntactical problem (excluding noun and verb errors) was the use of a for an, with an occasional hypercorrection of an for a. (Lack of any indefinite article occurred in several cases; however, this is not known to be related to Black English).

A number of sixth graders used the preposition-less structure come over my house (instead of come over to my house).

Four syntactic features that are usually noted as particularly distinctive in Black English occurred only rarely: (1) inversion in indirect questions (e.g., asked did he want instead of asked if he wanted); (2) multiple negation (actually only double negation in these papers; e.g., don't have nothing); (3) it's for there's; (4) pleonastic subject (e.g., Wilona she). However, the rarity of the first three features could be the result of students not needing to use such constructions in these writing samples.

Consonants

The major error with consonant spellings was the lack of the last consonant in final consonant clusters; e.g., pon for pond. Among sixth graders (particularly one student who made half of such errors), lack of the final consonant was most frequent in and, which was spelled an and in. Since and is such a common word in reading from first grade on, it is surprising that students misspelled it (even if their misspellings reflected the most common pronunciation for all speakers of English). Hypercorrections sometimes included the addition of an unnecessary final consonant; e.g., find for fine.

Some single final consonants were also missing in the writing samples; e.g., loo for look. Post-vocalic r, l, and n (whether or not in final position) were sometimes missing; e.g., mothe (for mother), aways (for always), dow (for down). Occasionally, th was spelled with t or d; e.g., tink (for think), den (for then); however, voicing contrasts were not necessarily preserved in the spelling; e.g., ten for then. Since /hw/ does not occur in Black English (and in a large number of other English dialects), it is not surprising to find cases of w instead of wh (e.g., wen for when), but it is somewhat surprising that all these

cases occurred in the sixth-grade samples and with the high-frequency words when and where. A few hypercorrections also reflected these consonant problems (e.g., were spelled where).

Vowels

Vowel misspellings that could be attributed to dialect pronunciations were rare. Moreover, because English vowel spellings are particular problems for all elementary school students, vowel errors cannot be clearly attributed to dialect even when they match dialect pronunciations. One vowel misspelling that suggests Black English influence did occur with some slight frequency: i for e before nasals (e.g., thin for then); however, this first pronunciation is common in many dialects, especially in Southern California.

CONCLUSION

The data analyzed in the paper suggest that a major portion of the writing errors made by these third- and sixth-grade Black children can be attributed to Black English influence--either directly or through hypercorrections. However, dialect isn't the only--or the predominant--source of error for these students. And the correction of surface errors is not the only--or even the most important--goal of writing instruction.

Moreover, this study has a number of limitations (which suggest directions for needed additional research)

1. No comparison groups were used. Thus, although the study provides information about one group of students, it does not indicate whether other groups of students (e.g., low- or middle-income Anglos) might also make the same errors. (However, other research does suggest that error frequency, at least, differs among dialect groups.)
2. No speech data are available on the students whose compositions were analyzed (although there is no reason to believe that they did not speak Black English).
3. The students whose writings were used in this study were from the metropolitan Los Angeles area. Since dialects vary regionally as well as socially, different results may be found if Black students in other parts of the country are studied.
4. The students whose writings were studied were at only two grade levels; different error patterns might well be found at other grade levels.
5. The writing samples studied were on different topics and thus made different linguistic and rhetorical demands on the writers. Consequently, the data for the two grade levels cannot be compared.
6. The specific topics for the writing samples clearly influenced the structures used by the students. Different topics could elicit different syntactic structures, thus producing different error types and different raw frequencies of error types.

7. The study looked only at errors--not at what was correct. Therefore, the frequency of an error type may be related to the frequency of the construction in the writing samples and may not reflect the relative difficulty of the construction for Black third- and sixth-grade writers. (For example, more errors may have been found on third person singular -s than on plural -s because students used far more third person singular forms than they did plurals.) However, when errors were being listed from the writing samples, it was obvious that students also used all constructions correctly at least some of the time.

8. The errors were analyzed out of context. However, specific linguistic environments may affect the likelihood that an error may occur (but see Cronnell, 1973, for opposing evidence for some phonological features). Analysis of context would, of course, need to include the study of correct usage as well as errors.

Nonetheless, despite these limitations, the present study does provide additional knowledge about the dialect-related writing needs of Black elementary-school students.

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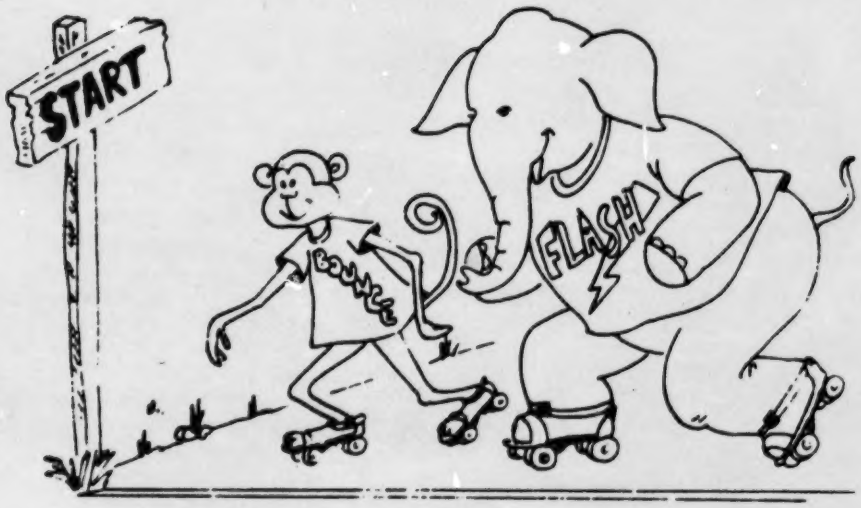
APPENDIX A

Writing Prompts

Grade 3



Look at the picture of these animals. Both animals are wearing skates. The monkey's name is Bounce. The elephant's name is Flash. Write a story about the picture and the animals in it.

- Tell something about the way the animals look.
- Tell what they do together on their skates.
- Have something strange or funny happen to them.
- Write a good ending for your story.
- Give your story a title.

Grade 6

Write a letter to a friend. The purpose of the letter is to convince your friend to watch your favorite television program.

- Tell your friend that you think he or she should watch the program.
- Give the name of the program.
- Tell how the program makes you feel when you watch it. Use exact words that describe your feelings.
- Give two more good reasons why your friend should watch the program.
- Include all parts of a personal letter and put each of them in the right place on the page.
- Use good grammar and language.
- Write complete sentences.

APPENDIX B

Black Students - Grade 3: Errors

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
10-01	*Is have	(It has)
	lone	(long)
	skatering	(skating)
-02	*a	(an)
	**elephant's	(elephant)
	Ø	(a)
	**is skates	(is skating)
-03	*an	(and)
	**an	(a)
	triped	(tripped)
	thay	(they)
	*wac	(were)
-04	tome	(tame[?])
	*anos	(animals[?])
	om	(on[?])
	skian	(skater[?])
	*mane	(named)
	*udro	(other[?])
	[Much uninterpretable]	
-05	arimals	(animals)
	**are skates	(are skating)
	look skates	(?)
-06	*shaes	(skates - Student copied prompt)
-07	feetball	(football)
-09	are skate	(are skating)
	skater	(skates)
	*look	(looks)
	*have	(has)
-10	*look	(looks - used correctly twice)
	to	(too)
	lite	(light)
	tryed	(tried)
	fall	(fell)
	inger	(injure)
-11	*look	(looks)
	*the wood	(the woods = forest)
	*was	(were - 3 times)
	*do	(does)
	*elephane	(elephant)
	hunt	(hurt)
	fall	(fell)
	**and	(on)
	*stop	(stopped - twice)

*Possible Black English influence.
**Possible hypercorrection.

Note: Excluded are errors in capitalization and punctuation.

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	*foots	(feet)
	they	(them[?])
	*friend	(friends)
	[Long story; several correct uses of past forms]	
-12	thay	(they)
	downe	(down)
	nial	(nail)
-13	skinney	(skinny)
	fall	(fell)
	*word	(world[?])
	dich	(ditch)
	*steal	(still)
	[Varies between present and past tenses.]	
-14	their	(there)
	wer	(were)
	to	(two)
	*Ø	(was)
	*cause	(because - twice)
	elaphant	(elephant)
	every	(everyone)
	herd	(heard - twice)
	plad	(plaid)
	Ø	(him)
	make you two out of stars	(make you two into stars/make stars out of you two)
	meen	(mean - twice)
	payed	(paid)
	ritcher	(richer - twice)
	*STAS	(STARS - correct 4 times)
	[Excellent paper.]	
-15	*day	(they - twice)
	*/**skaesing	(skating)
	*dow	(down)
	*haell	(hill[s])
-16	wining	(winning)
	to	(too - 3 times)
	*slip	(slipped)
	bom	(boom - as in "fall down boom")
-17	*is	(are - compound subject - twice)
	raceing	(racing)
	is race	(is [are] racing)
	*little eye	(has little eyes[?])
	*tell	(tail - twice)
	*got	(has - 3 times)
	*aim	(aims)
	*is	(are)
	hose	(house[?])
	there	(their)
	*trip	(trips/tripped)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
10-18	to	(two)
	*animale	(animals - 3 times)
	skatse	(skates)
	**are skatse	(are skating)
	*is	(are - compound subject)
-19	*a	(an)
	*name	(named)
	*skaes	(skates - twice)
	*them	(them)
	ø	(an)
	*thin	(them - wice)
	**?s[verb]	(?[verb])
	*fir	(first)
	to	(too)
	*thak	(thank)
	[COMMENT: Poor letter formation.]	
-20	**elephant's	(elephant)
	**monkey's	(monkey)
	sire (?)	(?)
	thae	(they)
	**skatesing	(skating)
-21	skinney	(skinny)
	skateing	(skating)
	*fall	(falls)
	*groun	(ground)
-24	*ø	(was)
	skinney	(skinny)
	in park	(in the park)
	*almoce	(almost)
	finnis	(finish)
11-01	*name	(named - twice)
	skat	(skate)
	trid	(tried)
	docter	(doctor)
	hospitol	(hospital)
-02	**ond	(one)
	*a	(an)
	were skates	(were skating)
	*look	(looked)
	happle	(happily)
-04	thier	(their)
	happly	(happily)
-05	*leg	(legs)
	togather	(together)
	*Flash and Bounce they	(Flash and Bounce)
-06	**skatesing	(skating - twice)
	*lose	(lost)
	begain	(began)
	*ask	(asked)
	hlpe	(help)
	side	(said)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	finde	(find)
	puting	(putting)
	happly	(happily)
-07	**has	(have)
	*Flash	(Flash's)
	happed	(happened)
	[Some confusing dialogue.]	
-10	*/**elephat's	(elephant)
	sene	(skinny)
	**monkey's	(monkey)
	haveing	(having)
	get last	(?get lost/?come in last)
-12	*look	(looks - twice)
	*a	(an)
	togther	(together - twice)
	happy ever	(happily ever after)
-13	togather	(together)
	*thaked	(thanked)
-14	Bounece	(Bounce - twice)
	**monky's	(monkey)
	**elephant's	(elephant)
	*/**they was skated	(they were skating)
	*nelpe	(helped)
-15	*skate	(skates) [noun]
	begen	(began - twice)
	to	(too)
	ciy	(cry)
	*stop	(stopped)
	niall	(nail - twice)
	siad	(said - twice)
	*pull	(pulled)
	*gooby	(goodbye)
-18	*was skater	(were skating)
	fall	(fell - 3 times)
	he's	(his - twice)
	*tean	(then [?])
	hete	(hit [?])
	a gen	(again)
-19	wering	(wearing)
	jumyed	(jumped)
-20	[no errors]	
-21	[no errors]	
-22	*elephatar	(elephant)
	ot	(to)
-23	apon	(upon)
	their	(there)
	nane	(name)
	*why	(while)
	*bounce	(bounced)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-24	torace	(to race)
	alseep	(asleep)
-25	nonkey	(monkey)
	Heve (?)	(Here [?])
-26	ther	(there)
	naned	(named)
	*a	(an)
	stakeing	(skating)
	there	(their - twice)
	*stake	(skates)
	sond	(sign [?])
	*live	(lived)
	happy evrey afert	(happily ever after)
-27	sonething	(something)
	givye	(give)
	[Copied part of prompt.]	
-28	*a	(an)
	**elephant's	(elephant)
	togeother	(together)
	*loo	(look)
	*tinke	(think)
	monkeyes	(monkeys)
	so fun	(so funny)
-29	*when	(went)
	went for a skate	(went skating)
	*don't	(doesn't)
	no	(know)
	he's	(his)
	**isdon't	(isn't - twice)
	*monkey	(monkey's)
-30	*sometime	(sometimes)
	*pon	(pond)
12-03	*was	(were)
	skateing	(skating)
	Once upon time	(Once upon a time)
-07	**gose	(go)
	thay	(they - 3 times)
	gase	(guess)
	happly	(happily)
	avre	(ever)
-08	*a	(an)
	*land	(landed)
	the	(they)
-09	look	(like)
	to	(two - twice)
	*friend	(friends)
	*ead	(end)
	*was	(were - twice)
	skateing	(skating - twice)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	*togethe	(together)
	*halp	(helped)
	somethig	(something)
-11	to	(two)
	*name	(named - twice)
	starting	(skating - twice)
	very	(every)
	*happen	(happened)
	thme	(them)
	fill	(fell)
	done	(down)
	sidewike	(sidewalk)
	*a	(an)
-12	*was	(were - 3 times)
	too	(two)
	there	(their - twice)
	*help	(helped)
-14	*name	(named - twice)
	*an	(and)
	*sakates	(skate[d])
	ih	(?)
	monket	(monkey - twice)
-16	thy	(they - twice)
	to	(two)
	pepplo	(people)
	firdes	(friends')
	*fall	(falls - twice)
	*lagh	(laughs)
	to	(too)
	bort	(brought)
	laoch	(lunch)
	siek	(sick)
-18	taday	(today)
	happyed evaey arc	(happily ever after)
-19	atime	(a time)
	*was	(were)
	theirs	(there's)
	Ø	(an)
	Ø	(a)
	triped	(tripped)
-20	**skates	(skate) [verb]
	Ø	(a)
	their	(there)
	**were	(was)
	*name	(named - twice)
	*a	(an)
	*name	(names)
	*was	(were)
-21	there	(their)
	*name	(names)
	raes	(race)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	toether	(together)
	agan	(again)
	were skates	(wear skates/were skating)
-22	lived	(there lived)
	**and	(an)
	makey	(monkey)
	*one	(one's)
	looed	(looked)
	to	(too)
	had fell	(fell)
-23	him	(he)
	firet	(first)
	havfe	(half)
	**elephants	(elephant - twice)
	petty	(pretty)
	[Some incomplete/confusing places.]	
-24	Ø	(an - twice)
	Ø	(a - twice)
	*is	(are)
-25	*monkey	(monkey's)
	to	(too)
-27	**and	(an)
13-01	than	(then)
	*Bouce	(Bounce - twice)
	*Bouce all he had	(all he had)
	*blanana	(bananas - twice)
-02	**were	(was)
	*was	(were)
	The and the and the	(and the)
	*were skate	(was skating/wear skates)
	to	(too)
	*togeter	(together)
	flash Bounce	(Flash and Bounce)
	Ø	(the)
	*elephant	(elephant's)
	*mokey	(monkey's)
	*Ø	(is - twice)
	[Copied some of prompt.]	
-03	*/**elephan's	(elephant - 3 times)
	**are skates	(are skating)
	*ten	(then)
	*tigo	(tiger)
-04	*/**is skates	(are skating)
	*is	(are)
	hiving	(having)
	funn	(fun)
	saktes	(skates - twice)
-05	there	(their)
	*Ø	(is)
	*name	(named)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	thay	(they - twice)
	pike	(park [?])
	*dow	(down - twice)
	tied	(tried)
	hm	(him - twice)
	now	(not)
	wiet	(went)
	sick	(stick)
	**thale	(tail)
	log	(long)
-06	moeonkey	(monkey)
	ond	(and)
	**alepanth	(elephant)
	mame	(name)
	Boutnce	(Bounce)
	Fbsh	(Flash)
	[Most of the rest is unintelligible: somhatnbadoostaltgodit Wearingskat TsVooP[?]9othi[?]o9dstha]	
-08	himls	(animals [?] - twice)
	werih	(are wearing)
	sktes	(skates)
	*monkkey	(monkey's)
	nme	(name)
	*elephhts	(elephant's)
	Flsh	(Flash)
	[Most of the rest is (poorly) copied from the prompt.]	
-09	*in	(and - 5 times)
	*was	(were)
	mad	(made)
	we	(him [?])
	fll	(fall)
-10	Bounence	(Bounce)
	*a	(an)
	*skate	(skates) [noun]
	story	(store)
	*eat	(eats - twice)
	*carret	(carrots)
-11	Flah	(Flash)
	*is	(are)
	*was	(were)
	skateting	(skating)
	a long	(along)
	wanteb	(wanted)
	fall	(fell)
	stroy	(store)
	**Bounces	(Bounce)
	*love	(loves)
	theay	(they)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-12	to	(two)
	*aimals	(animals)
	[Rest incomprehensible: Then What skating then start. Then What to the start line then past on the sketes on the stand up]	
-13	*is	(are)
	*a	(an)
	wemt	(went)
	*thin	(then - twice)
	fall	(fell/falls)
	*help	(helped/helps)
	he	(him)
-14	togeleler (?)	(together)
	*see	(sees)
	*run	(runs)
	*got	(has got/has - twice)
	big two ears	(two big ears)
	*have	(has)
-15	**elephant's	(elephant)
	* togeter	(together)
	everone	(everyone)
	an	(am)
	*wrods	(world's)
	*greates	(greatest)
	*frind	(friend)
	his	(has - twice)
	*have	(has)
	snall	(small)
-16	strang	(strange)
	*don't	(doesn't)
	Ø	(he)
	frend	(friend - 3 times)
-17	**monkey's	(monkey - twice)
	*a	(an)
	**elephant's	(elephant - twice)
	wear	(were)
	somethink	(something)
-19	*is skates	(are skating - twice)
	*fall	(falls)
	saktes	(skates)
	** to saktes	(to skate)
-20	skat	(skate)
	a big ears	(big ears)
	troumpet	(trumpet)
	tall	(tail)
-21	*was	(were)
	*happen	(happened)
	*thim	(them)
	Bounce very quickly	(Bounce [verb] very quickly)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	happend	(happened)
	**were	(was)
	thay	(they)
-22	animales	(animals - twice)
	*was	(were)
	*they	(their)
	*leg	(legs)
	*cet	(can't [?])
	agen	(again)
-23	then	(them)
	**monkey's	(monkey)
	**elephant's	(elephant)
	*look	(looks)
	loug	(long - 3 times)
	*eas	(ears)
	tial	(tail)
	store	(story)
-25	*a	(an)
	waring	(wearing)
	*conner	(corner)
	becus	(because)
-26	*have	(has)
	*frind	(friend)
	wret	(went)
	*is	(are)
	funy	(funny - twice)
-27	**monkey's	(monkey - twice)
	**elephant's	(elephant - twice)
	or	(are - 3 times)
	*elephat	(elephant - twice)
	*their on se[illegible]	(their own selves)
-28	Once upon time	(Once upon a time)
	*was	(there were)
	tow	(two)
	anmals	(animals)
	name is	(named)
	*was	(were)
	to	(too)
14-01	tea-shirt	(T-shirt - twice)
	*fall	(falls)
-02	*could	(can)
-03	when turns	(when he turns)
	black	(back)
	*fall	(falls)
	down his head	(down on his head)
-04	[no errors]	
-05	Bounce Flash [title]	(Bounce and Flash)
	*can't	(couldn't)
-06	*fell	(felt)

Class -

Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-07	*show	(short)
-08	[tense changes]	
-09	[no errors]	
-10	[no errors]	
-12	amd	(and)
-19	[no errors]	

APPENDIX C

Black Students - Grade 6: Errors

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
16-01	*have	(has)
	charactors	(characters)
	realy	(really)
-02	**guest	(guess)
	comedy man	(comedian)
	cris-cross	(criss-cross ["cross-eyed"]
	*a	(an)
	mined	(mind)
	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	Q	(cue)
-03	**had seen	(saw)
	scary	(scared)
	nerous	(nervous)
	interresting	(interesting)
	good by	(good-bye)
	here	(hear)
	truely	(truly)
-04	*could	(can)
-05	should of	(should have)
	men	(man)
	beread	(buried)
	*jump	(jumped)
	pict	(picked)
	cascet	(casket--twice)
	*walk	(walked)
	washing	(watching)
	scerd	(scared)
	thout	(thought)
	scerry	(scary)
-06	wicth	(watch--twice)
	**art	(ought)
	*/**went	(when--twice)
	*had came	(had come)
	I	(it)
	*than	(thing)
	have	(had)
	wood	(would)
	*talk	(talked)
	above	(about)
	*girl	(girls)
	*brathe	(brother)
	*is	(are)
	will	(well)
	[Some confusing parts]	
-07	dacideit	(decided)
	Ø	(I)

*Possible Black English interference
**Possible hypercorrections

Note: Excluded are errors in capitalization, punctuation, and letter format

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	*treat	(treated)
	won't	(want)
	*git	(gets)
	juneir [?]	(junior)
-08	thier	(their)
	mony	(money)
	there	(their)
-10	their's	(there's)
	**sometimes	(sometime)
	decuss	(discuss)
	*don't have nothing	(don't have anything)
-11	look at [TV program]	(watch)
	Los Vagas	(Las Vegas--twice)
	*B.J.	(B.J.'s)
	*Bear	(Bear's)
	throw	(through)
	*had stop	(stopped)
	canneisters	(cannisters--twice)
	was fly	(was flying)
	*had landed	(landed)
	*had hook	(hooked)
	*had went	(went)
	tralor	(trailer)
	conseno	(casino)
-12	[no errors]	
-14	look at [TV program]	(watch)
	**an	(a)
	hynen	(hyena)
-15	*a	(an)
	**stunds	(stunts)
	*an	(and)
	senes	(scenes)
	fill (fell?)	(feel--3 times)
	wont	(want)
	wright	(write)
	tall	(tell)
-16	knew	(new)
	*your	(yours)
	truely	(truly)
-19	I'n	(I'm)
	*have wrote	(have written)
	beacause	(because)
	happ	(happy)
	wacth	(watch)
-20	*make	(made)
	togeather	(together)
	**sometimes	(sometime)
-21	*call	(called)
	favor	(favorite)
-22	to	(too)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-23	**I	(me)
	which	(watch)
	are	(or)
	**whating	(waiting [?])
	*a	(an)
	**sense	(since)
	there	(their)
-24	**sometimes	(sometime--twice)
	I	(one/a)
	no	(know)
17-01	*make	(makes)
	*sometime	(sometimes)
	sod	(sad)
	than	(then--4 times)
	fother	(father)
	*burn	(burned)
	to	(too)
	*nex	(next--3 times)
	*was	(were)
	close	(clothes)
	thay	(they--4 times)
	sow	(saw)
	*thim	(them)
	*fail	(fell)
	*were	(where)
	*tail	(tell)
	tack	(take)
	*name	(named)
	*Wilona she	(Wilona)
	*thas	(that's)
	*tink	(think)
	shold	(should)
	*come	(comes)
-02	look at	(watch--twice)
	*was	(were)
	fliped	(flipped)
	filling	(falling)
	ø	(a)
-04	look at	(watch)
	wensday	(Wednesday)
	sone	(some)
	*make	(makes)
	**where	(were)
-05	look at	(watch--twice)
-06	favorit	(favorite)
	shold	(should)
	**makes	(make)
	*tell	(tells)
	*ø	(is)
	to	(too)
-07	at [?]	(and)
	alamost [?]	(almost)
	elevater	(elevator)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	cought	(caught)
	Floride	(Florida)
	*thea [?]	(that)
-08	[no errors]	
-09	Kieth	(Keith--varies with correct spelling)
	*call	(called)
	*did he want	(if he wanted)
	Ø	(it)
-10	*laugh	(laughed)
	surly	(surely)
-11	*will	(would)
	*in	(and--twice)
	*Ø	(is)
	*is	(are)
	kno	(know--twice)
	orve	(over--twice)
-12	*make	(makes)
	*sometime	(sometimes)
	realy	(really)
	**happens	(happen)
-13	**men's	(men)
	wach	(watch)
-14	**find	(fine)
	exact	(exciting)
	*was	(were)
	*rob	(robbed)
	thay	(tney)
-16	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	a way	(away)
	sincelry	(sincerely)
-17	the	(a)
-18	Ø	(I)
	is	(it)
-19	of	(have)
	*watch	(watched)
	on	(in)
	*was	(were)
	hear	(here)
-20	look at	(watch)
	becuse	(because--twice)
	drink	(drunk)
	mead	(made)
	wach	(watch)
-21	see	(watch)
	**wind	(wine [?])
	batcach	(?)
	*in	(and)
	Ø	(was)
	*wear	(where)
	[Some things not clear.]	

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-22	look at	(watch)
-23	I'll	(I've)
	wacth	(watch)
	*begin	(begins)
-24	look at	(watch)
-25	increable	(incredible)
	becouse	(because--twice)
	sincerly	(sincerely)
18-01	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	[?] wiah	(watch)
	*in	(And--10 times)
	*come	(comes)
	**that dogs is	(that dog is [?])
	to	(too)
	*wond	(wanted)
	what	(was--twice)
	what	(? want)
-02	incrediable	(incredible)
	*a	(an)
	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	disscuse	(discuss)
	walk you	(walk with you/walk you home)
-03	realy	(really)
	unic	(unique)
	**shows	(show)
-04	Mandy	(Mindy)
	*thorw	(throws/threw)
	donw	(down)
	*bust	(busted/busts)
	*than	(then--twice)
	no	(know)
	*be talking	(is/was talking)
	pord	(pored)
	*stome aec	(stomach ache)
	*start	(started)
-05	becouse	(because--twice)
	so	(show)
	*it call	(it is called)
	*Ø	(is)
	fun to watch it	(fun to watch)
	to	(too--3 times)
	*goodtime	(Good Times)
	mak	(make)
	a gen	(again)
	mis	(miss)
	to good to miss it	(too good to miss)
-06	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	*reason	(reasons--twice)
	that . . . she	(who . . . Ø)
	*did not know nothing	(did not know anything)
	scince	(science [?])
	snak	(snack)
	*an	(and)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
-07	would to come	(? would like to come)
	*and plus	(and/plus)
	nineth	(ninth)
	use	(us)
-08	*movie	(movies)
	*/*what	(want)
	*are go	(are going)
	fride	(Friday)
	fell	(feel)
	*are gone	(are going)
	lest	(let's--twice)
	say	(says--twice)
	som	(some)
-09	someway	(some way)
-10	Dare	(Dear)
	wuold you to	(would like you to)
	[The rest of this paper is illegible and incomprehensible.]	
-11	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	**your	(you)
	pozest	(possessed)
	movie is going	(is going on [?])
-12	to night	(tonight)
	*pull	(pulls)
	**litter	(little)
	come on channel 7	(is [?] on channel 7)
-13	becouse	(because)
	mike	(make)
	trik	(truck)
	*drave	(driver)
	mikey	(monkey)
	*/**wath	(want)
	trale	(truly)
-14	atack	(attack)
	becouse	(because)
	somethig	(something)
	along	(alone)
	mite	(might)
	full [?]	(feel)
	provaition	(probation)
	con	(can)
	to	(too)
	chennal	(channel)
	[Impassioned letter about dope.]	
-15	favarit	(favorite)
	**hazzerds	(Hazzard)
	shariff	(sheriff)
	*name	(named--3 times)
	Genreal	(General)
	beleave	(believe)
	becoause (? **becoarse)	(because--twice)
	*aways	(always)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	truble	(trouble)
	ther	(their)
	a neather	(another)
	reson	(reason)
	shout	(shoot--twice)
	bo	(bow)
	shot	(shoot)
	*sometime	(sometimes)
	uncul	(uncle)
	stright	(straight)
	*a	(an)
-16	*It's	(There's)
	hear it	(hear about it)
-17	to night	(tonight)
	wash	(watch)
	*jaw	(jaws)
	*as can you	(ask if you can)
	*win	(when)
	*can	(could)
	*asked that can you	(asked if you could)
	*asd [?] . . . could you	(ask . . . if you can)
	*mothe	(mother)
-18	jump on scary parts	(jump at [?] scary parts)
	sad on sad parts	(sad at [?] sad parts)
	happy on happy parts	(happy at [?] happy parts)
	truely	(truly)
-19	hop	(hope)
	scend	(spend)
	*time	(times)
	soome	(some)
	gams	(games)
	use	(us)
	prak	(park)
	bad	(bed [?])
	*girl	(girls)
	biches	(beaches)
	**swem	(swim)
	with	(watch)
	the nater	([?] another)
	the nather	([?] another)
	the natse	([?] next)
	live	([?] leave)
	foun	([?] fun)
	with	(watch)
	so	([?] saw)
	*a	(an)
	atpan dorper	[?]
	nite	(night)
-20	*time	(times)
	page	[?]
	cips	([?] CHiPs)

Class - Student No.	Error	(Correct form)
	*come over my house	(come over to my house)
	Dueck	(Duke)
	gril	(girl)
-21	*make	(makes)
	fell	(feel)
	ot	(to)
	*chip	(chips [CHiPs])
	*is	(are)
	happe	(happy)
	*its	(there's)
	frend	(friend)
-22	*goin	(going)
	wont	(want)
	*den	(then)
	**gent	(get)
	pecker	(picture)
	*gone	(went/goes)
	went	(want)
	*wen	(when)
	*go	(goes)
	[Some parts illegible--poor copy]	
-23	hove	(have)
-24	wood	(would--twice)
	verry	(very--3 times)
	four	(for)
	*wha's	(what's)
	*thama	(Thelma)
	frend	(friend)
	adapted	(adopted)
	[Much illegible--poor copy]	
-25	*win [?]	(when)
	**gikes	(guys--twice)
	triy	(try)
	spries	(surprise)
	wrok	(work)
	pram	([?] program)
	*make	(makes)
	fill	(feel)
	*becau	(because)
	*is	(are)
	jhaislu	([?] jealous)
	*did not do nothing	(did not do anything)
	are	(our)

TV names:	Uing	(Ewing)
	Bow	(Beau)
	Heart	(Hart)
	Punch	(Ponch)
	Smooky	(Smokey)
	Fuzz	(Fonz)